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## CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

**Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, i. e., The Initiative and Referendum.**  
**Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.**  
**Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.**  
**Opposition to Trusts.**  
**Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.**

## NOTES OF THE WEEK.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY is laboring hard to save the Congressional elections for the Republican party. He has gone before the people of the Central West to seek their endorsement, he has deftly appealed to them to uphold his course and strengthen his hands that he may bring the peace negotiations to a successful conclusion, thrown out the impression that if the people do not uphold his hands and give him a vote of confidence by returning a Republican Congress that the successful termination of those negotiations will be endangered, that

Spain will be encouraged to refuse our demands, that the victories of the war will be undone, that we will be brought face to face with a renewal of hostilities.

Thus does our Chief Magistrate campaign for votes. The effect of this campaigning upon voters depends upon how seriously they take him. If they take his diplomatically clouded and indefinite warnings seriously the effect cannot fail to be great, for he has striven to spread his belief, or what he has desired to have regarded as his belief, that Democratic victory at the polls would undo the victories of the war and bring us face to face with the necessity of resuming hostilities, making further sacrifices of blood and treasure in order to induce the Spanish to give to us that which he believes they are sure to accord to us without further strife or sacrifice on our part if only the people show their determination to have what he, the President, demands by returning a Republican Congress and thus voting what the Spanish would consider to be an endorsement of his demands.

And clearly if the people gather the belief being so carefully cultured and spread by the President that Democratic victory will have such meaning and be fraught with such dangers, they will rally to the support of the Republican tickets as they would rally to the support of the nation, rally to vote the Republican tickets not as Republicans but as Americans, just as they would respond to a call to arms. If, then, the President has created this impression, his campaign tour will bear rich fruits. If, on the other hand, his warnings are regarded in the light of mere bugaboos, his trip, from a vote-gaining standpoint, must be regarded as profitless.

PEACE jubilees have also been most opportunely timed to influence the elections. In these celebrations the glorious victories achieved by our arms are recalled and the spreading of such glories anew serves to detract public attention from serious shortcomings in the conduct of the war and to throw a certain glamour around the administration under which such victories were gained. These peace jubilees have also been opportunely timed so as to enable the President to follow a campaign itinerary and make the excuse for a campaigning tour through several states.

Of course the President has not confined himself to rallying the people by throwing out the impression that if the Republicans fail to win the elections the peace negotiations will be threatened with collapse. As he traveled through Iowa, as he was whirled away to make addresses at Omaha, before Missourians at St. Louis, and finally at Chicago, he felicitated the people on the return of prosperity, claimed the credit for the return of such prosperity for the Republican party, asserted that the laborer was no longer obliged to tramp the highways in search of work, that the job now sought the man, that as a consequence happiness and contentment now rule. Moral: The Republican party brought such conditions, and if such conditions are to be continued the Republican party must be continued in power.

The only weakness in this appeal for Republican votes is that it is not a case of the job hunting the man but still of the

many hunting the job, and that our people are not blessed with the prosperity upon the enjoyment of which Mr. McKinley felicitated them. And so, many of Mr. McKinley's exhortations to vote the Republican ticket and strung on this chord must have fallen flat as vote makers. It goes without saying that the President has everywhere been met by large and enthusiastic crowds, but it is not safe to assume that this meant anything more than a turning out of the people to do him honor, not because he is a Republican, not because he espouses this policy or that but because he is the man chosen by the people to fill the highest place in their gift.

Now and again during his tour did the President touch upon the position of the United States with regard to the Philippines but he dealt in broad platitudes and we rest in as much ignorance as ever as to his policy, if he has any, in regard to those islands. But his platitudes did have the true ring about them even though broad enough to be acceptable to men holding the most diverse opinions. Thus in Omaha, before a vast concourse of people, he declared that the new problems growing out of the war and that confront us "will not be solved in a day. Patience will be required; patience combined with sincerity of purpose and unshaken resolution to do right, seeking only the highest good of the nation and recognizing no other obligation, pursuing no other path but that of duty. Right action follows right purpose. We may not at all times be able to divine the future, the way may not always seem clear, but if our aims are high and unselfish, somehow and in some way the right end will be reached." These are lofty sentiments but we cannot gather from such words any hint as to the position of the President. Rather would we assume, if we have warrant for assuming anything, that the President has no position, that he cannot see the future clearly, or decide what policy we should adopt and that he is therefore drifting in uncertainty.

In this same Omaha address Mr. McKinley sang the praises of self and Alger. He set forth that "the men who endured, in the short and decisive struggle, its hardships, its privations, whether in the field or camp, on ship or in the siege, and planned and achieved its victories, will never tolerate impeachment, either direct or indirect of those who won a peace whose great gain to civilization is yet unknown and unwritten."

That is to say the soldiers and sailors and their commanders in the field and on sea will not tolerate any adverse criticism of the conduct of the war by General Alger or by his superior, the President. The President added that to so criticise was unpatriotic.

MR. MCKINLEY is not the only Republican campaigner hoping to make votes by instilling into the masses of the people the belief that Democratic victory at the polls this fall would so stimulate the hopes of the Spanish Peace Commissioners and render them so supercilious in refusing to accede to the American demands as to make a breaking off of the peace negotiations all but inevitable. And there is no denying that there is some reason for this belief that the Republicans are so studiously spreading. It is certain that the Spanish would look upon the election of a Democratic Congress as a repudiation, by the American people, of the policy of expansion in the Philippines. And so it is certain that the Spanish Peace Commissioners would be encouraged by Democratic victory at the polls, to resist the surrender of the Philippines to the very end, confident that the American government and peace commissioners would sooner or later be obliged to conform their demands to the assumed edict of the American people. That Democratic victory would affect the Spanish Peace Commissioners in this way is quite certain and so the assumption that a Republican victory is necessary to insure smooth and successful carrying on of the peace negotiations, that such victory

is needed to induce the Spanish to accede to our demands is not without its foundation.

BUT the non-amendability of the Spanish Commissioners to our demands that it is assumed would follow a Democratic victory would rest largely, it must be remarked, upon a misinterpretation, by the Spanish Commissioners, of the meaning of Republican defeat. The Spanish would doubtless assume that it meant a rejection of the policy of territorial expansion, especially in the Philippines, and act accordingly. But it is by no means certain that Democratic victory would mean any such thing. To begin with, many Democrats are as ardent in their advocacy of territorial expansion and the annexation of the Philippines as any Republicans. In the second place, there are many, perhaps a majority of the Democrats, who, though opposed to the annexation of the Philippines, are equally opposed to handing them back to Spain and who are insistent in their demands that Spain surrender her sovereignty that the inhabitants of those islands may be given the opportunity to establish a republican form of government.

So these Democrats, opposed as they are to annexation, are as strongly opposed to the continuance of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines as the Republicans who believe in annexation. Consequently from the triumph of such Democrats over the Republicans in the Congressional elections the Spanish have nothing to gain. And this in the end they would discover. But in the interim between the defeat of the Republicans and such discovery it is very true that the Spanish Peace Commissioners would be encouraged, by false hopes it is true, to refuse compliance to our demands with greater determination believing that we would, because of such election, withdraw our demands for the surrender of the Philippines. And our commissioners pressing such demands with greater insistence than ever it is possible that the peace negotiations would be broken off. This possible result of Democratic victory is being worked by the Republicans for all it is worth. It is the strongest card they have to play.

WHILE this struggle for votes is going on in the United States the Joint Peace Commission is at its work in Paris, which so far seems to have consisted in striving to reach a basis from which to work. In brief, little or no progress has been made by the commission in the direction of peace. The one serious question that has so far been discussed appears to have been that of the Cuban debt. At first the American Commissioners refused to discuss the question at all, they having positive instructions not to consider the assumption of the debt either by Cuba or the United States. It was the determination of Washington that Cuba should not be launched as an independent republic burdened with a debt incurred by Spain in keeping Cuba in subjection and endeavoring to suppress the last revolt, a debt not incurred for Cuba's benefit but for her oppression. And for the United States to assume such debt would be nothing less than a payment to Spain for the relinquishment of the last traces of her sovereignty in Cuba.

So the American Commissioners were instructed to refuse to consider the question of debt, either with a view of putting such burden upon Cuba as a handicap to the new republic or of saddling it upon the United States. But the Spanish Commissioners were insistent and the Americans finally gave in so far as to agree to listen to the Spanish contention. At least the reports that leak through the cloak of secrecy surrounding the commission tell us so. Then the Spanish presented their case. They plainly declared that to strip Spain of her colonies and leave her with her debts would be to ruin her absolutely. They declared that if unrelieved nothing would be before Spain save repudiation of her debts or extinction as a nation. And this we can readily believe for the interest charges on the Spanish debt and the so-called Cuban and Philippine debts guaranteed by Spain foot up

to over \$105,000,000 annually, while her total revenues only average about \$145,000,000. And out of such revenues Spain cannot pay interest charges of \$105,000,000 and live. It is quite impossible, for the balance remaining is not sufficient to pay the costs of government. And the taxes are already high, indeed imposed on the principle of all the taxpayer can bear and they cannot be raised. But that Spain should have clung on to her colonies until she incurred a debt in the endeavor to keep them subject so great that she cannot bear up under it is no affair of ours. There is no reason why we should shoulder a part of such debt or force Cubans to shoulder it in order to release Spain from the fruits of her own folly and blindness, a blindness that has already cost us much in that it forced us into war with Spain, a war that would never have been if Spain could have seen that her interests were not bound up with the subjection and despoilment of an island.

ABOUT one-fourth of the debt for which Spain is responsible is the so-called Cuban debt. Just as to what this debt consists of and for what purposes it was incurred we are much in the dark. We presume the Spanish Commissioners are enlightening the Americans on these points. But it appears that the Cuban debt now stands at about \$400,000,000, half of which has been incurred since the outbreak of the last and successful rebellion and incurred for the suppression of that rebellion. Of the balance it appears about \$100,000,000 was incurred for purposes of subjection, about \$100,000,000 for the development of Cuba. Thus it appears that of the \$400,000,000 of debt only one-fourth was incurred for the benefit of Cubans, that the proceeds of three-fourths were used by Spain not for the development of Cuba but for the subjection of Cubans to the end that they might be tyrannized over and despoiled for the profit of Spanish.

This debt was issued by Spain, a specific pledge of the Cuban revenues made for its redemption, and further the general guarantee of the Spanish Treasury was placed on the Cuban bonds, \$300,000,000 of which, roughly, were issued to provide Spain with funds to oppress the Cubans, \$100,000,000 to provide funds for the development of Cuba. As the Cubans derived the benefit of said \$100,000,000 of bonds the payment of such bonds, in common justice and by international law, is rightfully chargeable to the Cubans. But the \$300,000,000 of bonds which were sold to oppress not to benefit, to grind down the people, force them to wear the yoke of subjection and submit to despoilment of most grievous kind cannot justly be so charged. As a simple proposition these one hundred millions of Spanish Cuban bonds should rest upon Cuba and for the same reason that the municipal debts contracted under the Spanish regime will be binding under the regime that follows.

So if after hearing the Spanish Commissioners the American Commissioners recognize that it is just that \$100,000,000 of the Spanish-Cuban debt should rest upon Cuba, and consequently agree to assume such debt on behalf of Cuba, there should be no surprise. But if the commissioners go further than this they will be doing not justice to Spain but injustice to Cuba.

However, the commissioners may not consider this debt question as a simple proposition but associate it with others, for example, as an offset to claims of Americans against Spain, and so refuse to put such debt upon Cuba.

GENERAL ALGER has issued another defence of himself, his defence being mainly a disclaimer of all responsibility for the shortcomings in the different camps and an effort to shunt off that responsibility upon his subordinates. "As every thinking man in his sound senses will realize," says General Alger, "it was impossible for the Secretary of War—one man—to attend to the minor details consequent upon the organization and handling of a great army of volunteers and regulars. It was necessary

that the work should be done by officers appointed from civil life and from the regular army."

This is all very true, but why is it that the "minor details," as Mr. Alger calls the care of the men in the camps, their comfort and health, have been so ill managed? There is but the one explanation: The officers appointed to look after such details have been incompetent. But this is only half an explanation. How came it that so many incompetents found their way into responsible positions, especially in the quartermaster's department, into positions where failure to do their full duty either from laziness or ignorance caused suffering, often serious sickness to those in the camps whose welfare was not looked after as it should have been? The answer is that Secretary Alger and the President appointed officers with strict regard to their political pull, with little or no inquiry as to their fitness. Naturally incompetents were raised to responsible positions and many were the faults in the army organization consequent on these weak links.

Thus the responsibility comes home to Secretary Alger and the President, for they are responsible for the placing of incompetents in important positions. Secretary Alger seems to deem it absurd to charge him with responsibility for the mistakes, the bungling of affairs at some spot in the War Department at Washington or in some camp. But it is not absurd at all. There is that bungling because of the presence of incompetents, and there are such incompetents because General Alger, with the President, made appointments to the army with little regard for fitness, with much regard to political pull.

THE evidence given before the War Investigating Committee has served to stifle, to a great degree, the making of charges of mismanagement against the War Department. It is to be noted especially that the yellow journals have been well nigh silenced. The statements of the old Confederate soldiers, Generals Lee and Wheeler, and of nearly all the witnesses of lesser rank called before the committee set forth that the management of the War Department, the caring for the troops at the different camps left little to be desired, that never was there a war in which such pains were taken and with such success to provide for the welfare of the troops.

Such is the tenor of the evidence. And as a result there has come an apparent reaction favorable to the War Department and Administration, so that it looks as if War Department scandals that threatened to have such an effect upon the elections a few weeks ago, and of course detrimental to the Republicans, would exert no material influence upon the voting. If so the War Investigating Committee will have effected its purpose.

But we cannot believe that the reaction is more than superficial. The sores are too deep to be covered over by smooth words. There has been sickness in the camps and a decimation in the ranks of some of the regiments called into service for which no reasonable excuse can be offered. The blunders leading to such decimation of the ranks by sickness and death are real, not imaginary, and there are too many empty places by the firesides to permit people to forget or to condone.

TO KEEP soldiers camped on the same soil for three or four months was a frightful blunder. In such camps there was, of course, only surface drainage, no means for the disposal of the excrement of the soldiers, the waste of the kitchens, save the digging of sinks and burial in the soil. Of necessity, the whole surroundings of the camps rapidly changed and grew worse from day to day. A healthful camp soon became unhealthful; where there was pure air at first the air became tainted with filth and in place of being health giving became disease breeding.

Suppose we destroyed the sewerage system of a city, permitted the filth to accumulate? How long would it be before

sick list and death rate mounted skywards? And our War Department has condemned our soldiers to camp under such conditions, in cities of tents without sewerage. Instead of camping for months at a time in the same places, provision should have been made for our soldiers to change their camping grounds every fortnight. Then they could have camped under conditions of healthfulness, not the reverse, and the regiments would not have been decimated without ever going under fire. And again have we seen sites selected for camps that are notoriously unhealthful and for reasons inexplicable if we exclude reasons of pocket. Camp Meade, Pennsylvania, pitched on the malarial banks of the Susquehanna, is a camp in point.

THAT the Republicans are fearful of losing the House of Representatives is very apparent. Yet it is very evident that the Democrats are in no manner confident of success. In New York and Pennsylvania they will undoubtedly make large gains but what they will do in the western states is very uncertain. But supposing they do make the necessary gains to take the control of the House from the Republicans they are not likely to gain a very firm hold on the House themselves. This is because of the factional divisions in the party. The most radical of these is of course the gold faction that seems destined to elect at least ten members to the House from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina and Mississippi. So unless there comes a great turn over, these gold Democrats will, in the event of the Republicans losing control, hold the balance of power. And then before they unite with the silver wing to organize the House, and as the price of such support they could exact pledges of places on the several important committees such as would give them the balance of power in those committees, thereby effectually tying the hands of those committees and making the report of any measures, not to the liking of the gold Democrats and Republicans, out of the question.

So the silver Democrats would find their hands tied and unable to make the passage of a free silver bill and the discussion of the financial question the feature of the session. This would bring the new questions centering around our colonial possessions to the fore and push the silver question into the background, thus strengthening the gold men for their struggle in the Democratic convention of 1900.

As to other questions, that of reducing taxation might come up but it is quite possible that even on this gold and silver men would come to a deadlock in committee, the gold men wanting to reduce taxation by removing taxes on wealth such as the inheritance tax, the silver men by repealing taxes that are practically levied on a basis of so much per man and not so much per dollar, such as the tea tax, a tax that has been a thorn in the side of the silver Democracy ever since they tacked it on to the War Revenue bill in July a year ago.

MOST of the gold Democrats who voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896, have gone back into the party with the view of directing their efforts in such manner as to encompass the defeat of the silver forces and regain the control of the party organization in 1900. But the handful of gold Democrats who organized the National Democratic party, in 1896, and put Palmer and Buckner in the field, have, though deserted by their first Presidential candidate, Mr. Palmer, and their first Chairman, Mr. Bynum, who have joined the Republican party, resolved to maintain their party organization and continue in independent existence with the dim hope that some day when the Democratic party, hopelessly divides against itself, splits asunder, such organization will form a harbor of refuge, the rallying point for those Democrats who, holding money dearer than man, cannot go into the Populist or some other party which stands firmly for the principles of true democracy.

This National Democratic party also professes to hold firmly to the principles of true democracy, of equality, but it does not. The national committee of this party met in Indianapolis on Saturday last, and resolving to maintain their organization issued an address to the National Democrats of the United States, asking them to keep in line. In this address gold monometallism and tariff reform are put forth as the great tenets of the party. The protective system it condemns in no soft words and rebukes the silver Democrats for "virtual abandonment of this great time-honored principle" in their platform of 1900. "The protective tax," runs the address, "is not only dishonest and oppressive, but it obstructs that free and natural interchange of commodities which would increasingly tend to lessen the cost of the necessities and comforts of life to our wage-earning classes. It has destroyed our merchant navy, it has practically driven our flag from the seas, and has forced us into the humiliating necessity of paying vast and constant tribute to other nations for ocean carriage."

This reads very well and seems to breathe the spirit of equality. But the true protective tariff, and we distinguish it from the monopoly tariff, is not a tax, for it does not raise prices but cheapens production by encouraging men to make use of the resources of wealth closest to their hand and therefore most economical to use, reduces prices by stimulating domestic competition and freeing us from dependence on foreign markets for our supplies and by neutralizing the artificial advantages possessed by older peoples in their accumulations of wealth which they are free to use in unnatural competition to ruin and stamp out the competitor of small means, the protective tariff enables industry to develop in the natural and most profitable channels. In short, the protective tariff is an artificial barrier raised to surmount the artificial hindrances to trade that those having a monopoly of a market raise to preserve such market. We would also note that it is from the abandonment of the navigation laws, of the protective system in regard to ships, that dates the decline of American shipping.

THE address of the National Democrats then proceeds to say: "We seek no offices and wish for no rewards except those that flow from the consciousness of duty done." And then comes this summing up: "Our principles, the gold standard,"—or dear money—"monetary reform"—which means the placing of the power to issue money and regulate the value thereof in the hands of the banks—"tariff for revenue only"—that is the taxing of articles of general consumption, as tea and coffee and sugar, the taxing of the man and not of the dollar, of the poor more heavily than the rich—"civil service reform, rigid economy in the administration of the government, the maintenance of law and order"—which means government by injunction, the use of the state militia and federal troops to overawe strikers—"freedom of contract, and the protection of all contract rights"—that is the right to put contract labor to work in the Virden mines—"must triumph if our representative federal republic is to be perpetuated."

ON WEDNESDAY of last week the Chicago & Virden Coal Company undertook to run a train of 150 negro miners, gathered up in Alabama, into its stockade. Every one knew, and no one better than Mr. T. C. Loucks, the president of the company, that such attempt would result in bloodshed. But the coal company resolved to force the hand of Governor Tanner and invited bloodshed believing, no doubt, that riot would be followed by the sending of troops to Virden who would overawe the strikers, protect the coal company in landing the negro miners within the stockade and so break the back of the strike. The attempt to run the negroes into the stockade met with the expected resistance and a pitched battle followed resulting in the killing of

fourteen men and the wounding of twenty. Thereupon the Governor sent troops to Virden, but he sent them charged to prevent the contract Alabama miners from disembarking as disturbers of the peace, sent the troops to aid the strikers in keeping the contract negroes from being run into the Virden stockade, not to aid the coal company in a second attempt to land the miners within the stockade.

At such turn of events President Loucks waxed furious. "We are determined," he said, "to operate our mines at Virden and the troops shall protect our lives and property." But the Governor has practically ordered the troops to prevent the operation of the mines with Alabama miners imported for the purpose. So the Governor orders the troops to do one thing; Mr. Loucks says they shall do another. Such being the status, what is the president of the Virden Coal Company going to do about it? Go into court and get an injunction ordering the militia to open a way into the Virden stockade for the contract laborers, whatever the cost, that is to disobey the Governor's orders under pain of punishment for contempt of court! And then the troops would be in a dilemma. If they disobeyed the Governor, punishment by court martial, if they paid no heed to the injunction, punishment for contempt of court. And either means punishment, imprisonment without trial by jury. The granting of such injunction would bring on a pretty clash of executive and judicial authority and perhaps we would have the extent to which government by injunction can be carried delimited before the quarrel was over. We would not be at all sorry to see Mr. Loucks force this clash. But perhaps he has thought better of it since the making of his bold assertions, or maybe he cannot find the judge willing to grant such injunction.

Meanwhile, Tanner, for taking the steps that prevent further bloodshed, but in a way that treads on the toes of the Virden Coal Company, is referred to as the "bloody minded Governor," as a second edition of Altgeld, an anarchist. Says the *North American* "It was hoped when Altgeld retired from the executive chair that the reign of criminal demagogism was ended. . . But what can the people of Illinois think of their power and capacity of selection when they contemplate the demagogic act of Governor Tanner?"

THE British Government is not at all pleased with the turn events have taken at Pekin. British grieve when they see the Chinese party on top, for the Chinese party, while not in the least opposed to the development of China's vast resources is opposed to the exploitation of those resources for the profit of British. So the British Government hints at the use of force to overthrow the Chinese party and open the way to the exploiting of China for the enrichment of British. It is reported that the British Minister at Pekin "has informed the Chinese Government that the sovereignty appertains solely to the Emperor, who has been forcibly abducted and deposed, and that he must be restored to his position, while Kang-Yu-Wei and the other reformers must be pardoned. Failing compliance, Great Britain will enforce this demand."

This is big talk, but about all Britain can do is by making an overt act to re-enthron the Emperor, to force his decapitation. Besides, let Britain use force to overthrow the Chinese party and Russia will use force to uphold it. And then—well Russia has 40,000 men at Port Arthur which England cannot match in the East, so that Russia can take the first trick.

THREE may keep a secret, if two of them are dead.

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THE poor have little, beggars none, the rich too much, enough not one.

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A LIE stands on one leg, truth on two.—*Poor Richard's Almanac.*

#### THE ILLINOIS TRAGEDY AND ITS LESSONS.

**A**LITTLE more than four years ago Chicago was suffering all the inconveniences and losses that must come from the interruption of the flow of traffic along the great arteries of commerce, the railroads, upon whose service the very life of her trade and her industries is dependent. The greatest railroad strike in our history was in full swing, Chicago was in the midst of its throes, the service of the great arteries of commerce that brought food for the city's trade and industries and carried away the products was seriously interrupted. So was commerce paralyzed, so was industry hindered. The flow of grain into the granaries was checked, the flow out retarded, and the same was true of the great meat packing establishments. The distributive trade of the country conducted through Chicago was halted, paralyzed, serious losses were entailed. At the same time lack of fuel forced industrial plants to close down, labor was thrown into idleness, trade and industry languished; languished because the service of the life-giving arteries had been interrupted.

Yet the undercurrent of popular sympathy ran strongly in favor of the strikers. From the strike the people of the city suffered, but they blamed not the strikers. With the interruption of traffic, the severing of the arteries that brought them labor and life, they were impatient, they complained, they longed ardently for the day when traffic would again flow along the railroads with its wonted regularity. But their impatience, their complaints were not directed at the strikers alone. They recognized that it was not just to hold the strikers and the strikers alone responsible for the severing of the arteries of commerce, that that responsibility rested just as much with the railroads, if not more, for it takes two to make a quarrel, and it was a quarrel between railroads and employees that led to the severing or rather interruption of the flow of traffic along these arteries. So it became a question of who had the right of the quarrel, who the wrong, for those who had the wrong should justly be held responsible for the inconveniences and losses to the public resulting from an interruption of traffic over the railroads. And the masses of the people of Chicago, feeling that the strikers had in great measure right on their side, sympathized with them, encouraged them.

Such was the state of feeling when there came disorder, incendiarism, in the Chicago freight yards; disorder and strife, incited, there is ground to believe, by the railroads themselves in the hope of turning sympathy away from the strikers and making of the great body of the people, lovers of law and order, partisans of the railroads rather than of the strikers. To this end, at any rate, the bloodshed and destruction of property in the freight yards was much exaggerated. But into this phase of the question, any more than into the causes of the great strike of 1894, there is no occasion to enter now. What we desire to recall is that under the plea of providing for the safe and prompt movement of the mails, and to preserve order, Federal troops were ordered to Chicago and sent, despite the protests of Governor Altgeld who insisted that the State of Illinois was amply able to establish order, protect the lives and property of her citizens and that it was a breach of the Constitution to send Federal troops into the state to replace the state authorities. And then was Governor Altgeld assailed as an enemy of law and order, as an arrant demagogue, as an anarchist. Yet he had right on his side, his protests were founded on justice, on liberty, based on the Constitution. He stood as the upholder of the law of the land, and for his pains he was assailed as the enemy of law and order.

And now we have another Governor of Illinois, this time a Republican and as accomplished a politician and manipulator of conventions as can be found, similarly assailed because he has taken his stand on the side of suffering humanity and against unchristian greed, because he gives heed to the precepts of Christ

and not of Mammon. And unfortunately and unlike Altgeld he has not law on his side. He has acted outside of the law. But he may comfort himself with the thought that though Altgeld acted within the law he was subjected to similar abuse, that it is not for acting outside of the law, but for placing himself in opposition to the moneyed interests that he is abused. It is for the crime of holding man dearer than money, of listening to the precepts of Christ, turning a deaf ear to the pleadings of Mammon that he suffers ostracism and contumely at the hands of the worshippers of wealth.

It is somewhat hard to treat dispassionately the causes leading up to the Illinois tragedy of last week, but it is necessary, for we cannot afford to have our judgment blinded either by the tears of sorrow or anger. So let us look upon the lamentable affair as coolly as we may that such sacrifice of life may not pass entirely in vain, that from the lives sacrificed may accrue some profit to mankind.

In July a year ago there was inaugurated a great bituminous coal strike that two months later was crowned with success, the workers in the mines gaining a general advance in wages. Pursuant to the agreement that ended this strike the operators and miners got together in conference and agreed upon an equitable scale of wages for the different bituminous districts, a scale arranged with the view of putting the operators of the different districts upon a plane of equality in marketing their coal. And again in last January did the operators and miners meet in conference and formulate a new scale of wages, a scale that it was contemplated would give the operators of no district any advantage over those of others and that would enable all to operate their mines.

Under this agreement the scale fixed for the Illinois district was, we understand, forty cents a ton, forty cents for mining a ton of coal. In the Pittsburg district the scale agreed upon and paid is much higher. But the Illinois operators were dissatisfied and refused to conform to the agreement. They asserted that it would be impossible; that if they paid the agreed scale of wages the price at which they could market coal would be raised so much above the price at which their competitors in other districts could sell that they in Illinois would be crowded out of the markets and obliged to shut down their mines. So did the Illinois operators who had been paying thirty cents a ton present their case and the miners acknowledged that it had a reasonable basis. But they did insist, in view of the raising of the wage scale and cost of production in other districts, that the Illinois operators could afford to raise the rate of wages from thirty to thirty-three cents a ton, they declared that it would be only fair for the operators to accord this advance and they announced that they would not continue to work unless it was accorded.

This demand seemed reasonable, but the operators, counting upon the poverty of the miners, refused to accede, believing that the needs of the miners would drive them to work at the old scale, and that they, the operators, would thus be given a great advantage over the operators in other districts who had raised wages, and so be enabled to swell their profits at the expense of those operators who treated their miners with greater liberality and fairness. So sure did the miners feel of the justness of and reasonableness of their demands that they offered to submit them to the State Board of Arbitration. Thus did they show their belief that they were asking for nothing that they ought not to have. But the operators refused to arbitrate. The reasonable conclusion of the public was that the operators rested their refusal not on right but might, that they were refusing to give to their workers that which in fairness they should, refusing to make a just distribution as profits and wages of the proceeds realized from the sale of the coal, and that knowing this and feeling certain that a decision of the State Board of Arbitration would be against them, they refused to arbitrate.

So last spring the coal miners of Illinois went on strike.

For months the companies made no serious effort to operate their mines, feeling that the poverty of the miners would force them to return to work on the companies' terms, that for the miners it would be a question of this or starvation. But the miners of Illinois were not alone in their struggle; others than they had an interest in its success. Indeed the maintenance of the advanced scale of wages accorded in other districts depended in no small degree upon the success of the miners in this Illinois struggle. So the miners of the whole country had good reason to support their Illinois brethren, not only on the broad humanitarian ground that an injury to one is an injury to all, but on the ground of self-interest, for it was clear that if the Illinois miners were defeated and the operators of that state given, because of cheap labor, an advantage over their competitors in other districts, they would be enabled to crowd such competitors out of their markets and put such competitors in a position where to regain or hold their markets they would have to cut down wages. So the struggle of the Illinois miners was regarded by the bituminous miners who had been accorded a rise in wages as just as much their struggle as that of the Illinois miners, and as a consequence they contributed from their earnings for the support of their Illinois co-workers and that the strike might not collapse.

Thus it was that the Illinois operators did not gain the easy victory they anticipated. And realizing that they could not starve the strikers into submission, they resolved to fill their places. To this end they took steps to import negro miners from Alabama, being unable to hire miners at the 30 cent rate in Illinois. So they sent their agents to Alabama, hired negro miners and shipped them to Illinois to work in the mines around which they had built stockades. Naturally the Illinois miners were angered when they saw this importation of miners that threatened to make them a charge on the community. So they resisted, the operators resolved to get their contract labor into the mines at all costs and hired and armed a private police force to this end. Thus was force opposed to force and finally, last week, at Virden, the inevitable clash came when the Chicago & Virden Coal Company undertook to run a train loaded with negro miners into their stockade.

Such is the story preceding the Virden tragedy. The president of the company lays the blame at the door of the governor, who refused to overawe the strikers by a display of military force; the governor responds by putting the blame of the bloodshed upon the heads of the managers of the coal company, declaring that "these men, the president and officers of the company who precipitated this riot by the bringing in of this imported labor are guilty of murder, and should be, and I believe, will be, indicted by the grand jury and tried and convicted for this heinous offense." This is the plain language of one sympathizing with downtrodden humanity and the governor followed it up by sending troops to Virden, not to help the company get its contract labor inside of its stockade, and as the companies had demanded, but charged to prevent the disembarkation of any negro miners imported from Alabama. And these instructions of the governor have been carried out.

Such is the condition of affairs to-day not only at Virden, but at other points in the Illinois coal field. We thus witness a departure from the customary use of state militia in strike troubles that is startling. In place of being used to overawe the strikers it is being used to encourage them, instead of being used at the instance and direction of the employing companies it is being used to encompass their defeat. And so instead of having the governor lauded by the money interests for promptitude and decision we have him abused, while the lowly and distressed applaud.

But is the Governor of Illinois warranted in his action, has he right on his side? Looked at in the abstract, he has not. If it is wrong to use the military, the force of the state to overawe

strikers, to deny them the right of meeting and the use of the public highways, to browbeat them into submission, it is equally as wrong to use such force to encompass the defeat of employers whose employees have gone on strike.

This as a simple proposition of equity is unassailable. Yet that the state has the right, yes the duty, to exert its force to protect the laborer against the aggressions of capital, to call a halt upon the moneyed interests when they use their power in a way to oppress the multitude, is scarcely deniable. And so on the other hand does it border on the absurd to lay it down as a rule of just government that the state must stand by and take no part in quarrels between employer and employed when such quarrels affect not only those directly concerned, but the welfare of the whole community.

In such quarrels the state must take a hand in order to protect the body of its citizens in the enjoyment of their rights. If it does not take a hand it is remiss in its duty. And this is none the less so though we act on the principle that such quarrels are no concern of government. But as the general welfare is the concern of government so are such quarrels. Thus we have mentioned how the great railroad strike of four years ago paralyzed industry, hindered the citizens of Chicago in the pursuit of their ordinary vocations, deprived many of them of the right of labor and caused them great loss. And to protect its citizens in the enjoyment of such rights is surely the duty of the state. To have interfered in that strike, to have ordered the railroad employees with a grievance to so comport themselves as not to block up the arteries of commerce, paralyze industry and do injury to thousands who had no part in their quarrel, would have been the right of the government. We speak not of constitutional right, but of common law right, the right born of justice. In other words, it would have been perfectly proper to deny such railroad men the right to strike because they could not exercise it without trampling upon the rights of others. But when the government thus denies a right it is in duty bound to protect those whom it denies from any loss consequent upon such denial. Otherwise, it is the rankest of injustice to deny a right. Therefore, if we deny the right of railroad men to cease work in such a way as to interfere with the free movement of traffic and cause inconvenience and loss to the community at large, deny them the right to strike because they cannot exert it without trampling on the rights of others it becomes the duty of the government, denying the right of such men to strike to protect themselves against injustice and secure their rights, to insure to them justice and secure them their just rights at the hands of their employers, the railroads. And to this end the government has the right to lay the hand of compulsion upon the railroads, force them to rectify the just grievances of their employees, submit all disputes to arbitration and abide by the results. And just what has been said of disputes between the railroads and their employees can be said of any labor disputes which affect not only the rights of the disputants but of the community at large.

So we see how the state gains the right to interfere in quarrels between capital and labor, to lay the hand of compulsion on capital here and labor there, to use its force to defeat the aggressions of capital at one time, to encompass the defeat of the demands of labor at another, in short, to enforce compulsory arbitration of labor disputes. New Zealand has adopted such advanced position with most flattering results.

But to come back to the troubles at Virden and the position of the Governor of Illinois. It is the right of every citizen of the United States, white or black, to sell his labor wherever he may choose, upon whatever terms he may choose and to whomsoever may care to hire him. And this being his right it follows that it is the duty of the government to protect him in the enjoyment of such right, to see to it that no one interferes with his right to labor. And so has the employer the right to hire labor upon such terms as are most advantageous to him. All this provided,

of course, that in the exercise of such free right in the hiring of labor the rights of others are not trampled upon.

The Virden Coal Company then had a perfect natural right to send its agents into Alabama to hire negro miners, to take such miners to Illinois and put them to work in its mines. And the negroes of Alabama had a perfect right to contract to sell their labor, to move into Illinois to fulfill that contract. This cannot be gainsaid. And such being their right it was the duty of the county of Macoupin, in which the Virden Coal Company has its mines, to protect them in the enjoyment of such right and the county authorities proving powerless to protect them in such right the duty of the state to exert its power to protect them, protect them in their right to labor in the Virden Coal Company mines, see that they were not molested in the exercise of that right.

No man has the right to block the path of another on the way to work. If one does so block the path and forcibly interfere with the enjoyment by another of the right to work it is the right of the one whose path is blocked to oppose force by force and if in any resultant struggle his life is endangered it is his right in self-defense to kill his antagonist. All these are common sense rights, rights born not of statute law but of natural law and too obvious to be denied. So if we look at the Virden dispute in the abstract, the company and the negroes from Alabama have the right on their side, the striking miners and the Governor of Illinois the wrong.

The authorities of the county of Macoupin strove to protect the negroes the coal company hired in Alabama in the right to enter and work in the company's mines. To secure to the negroes this right they found they were powerless. The county thus failing to protect it became the duty of the state to exert its force to protect and the Governor refused to so exert the power of the state. So the Governor has taken a position that has no warrant in law, yet one that his sympathies for suffering humanity prompted him to take.

His only valid defense is that the imported laborers are of the criminal class and that Illinois has a right to protect herself against an inroad of crime-infected men just as she would have a right to raise quarantine regulations preventing the movement into the state of men from the yellow fever infected districts of the South. But this is not the principal ground of objection to the importation of the negro miners and we may therefore set it to one side.

Thus it appears that to take a stand for the uplifting of humanity, to take a stand against the grinding down of labor is illegal, unconstitutional. It is a fearful thing to have to admit, but it is so. The Virden Coal Company with all its grasping greed has right on its side. The Governor talks of indicting the managers of such company who are responsible for bringing the negro miners of Alabama into the state and so precipitating the bloody riot for murder, but it is certain they will not be, for their right to go into Alabama and hire negro miners to work in their mines in Illinois cannot be denied. These coal operators in pursuing the course that led to the spilling of so much blood were but exercising their rights. This cannot be gainsaid.

Their wisdom in pursuing such a course, in refusing to accord their old miners the advance in wages demanded and to which they were justly entitled in view of the advance in wages in other coal districts, in seeking to swell their own profits by taking advantage of the poverty of their workers, in treating their workmen worse than brutes, and not as human beings, is another question. It may, indeed, be set down as a fact that those employers prosper most who treat their workmen most fairly and liberally, who enable their workmen to participate in their success, for then the workman will labor most ambitiously and productively, and render what is in reality the cheapest service, though he may be earning a higher pay. The starved body and brooding brain cannot render effective labor, and this

the intelligent employer recognizes and takes into account. It is true that some employers, as the Virden Coal Company, may fancy they guard against loss from any reduced effectiveness of the labor employed, consequent upon grinding down wages to the point that the body and brain alike must be starved, by paying labor not by time but by weight of coal produced, but they overlook the losses from strikes such as the present, and that follow upon such treatment.

Men who have no regard for the welfare of the wage earner, who set out to enrich themselves by preying upon labor, are not fitted to be employers. They who insist upon abusing their position as employers, use their position to oppress and grind down not uplift labor, should have their power to oppress taken from them. And where there is opportunity for free competition such employers will not succeed. They will be outstripped and beaten by their fairer minded competitors. They cannot keep an undue share of the wealth produced by the labor they organize and direct for the stress of competition will not permit. But sometimes there is not the opportunity for free competition and of course the competitive checks are inoperative. And this is the case with coal mining.

We have seen that the trouble in the Illinois coal fields grew out of the refusal of the coal operators to accede to the demand of the miners for an advance in wages to which the workers in that district, in view of the rise in wages in other coal districts and of the price of coal at the mouths of the pits, were justly entitled. With such rise the proceeds realized from the sale of the coal produced naturally rose, and it is only fair that in such increase the miner should share. But the Illinois operators refusing to make a just distribution of the wealth produced which, considering the increase in wealth produced, called for an increase in wages, grasped at all the increase for their own profit. Thus did they strive, by grinding down labor, to increase their profits beyond the profits of other coal operators. Such increase in profits and grinding down of wages would, if the coal fields of Illinois were illimitable and free competition possible, work its own remedy, for capital would be attracted to such fields by the enhanced profits and the demand for mine labor would run up and continue running up until wages advanced and profits fell to an equality with those in other districts. But the coal fields of Illinois are limited and the owners have thus a monopoly.

If then those who possess this monopoly abuse it there is but one course open to a state that would protect its citizens from oppression and that is to take away such monopoly from those who abuse it and vest in the state.

Such struggles between operators and miners as we have seen during the past half year in Illinois can but end in some such tragedy as that of Virden. If the operators hire outside miners as is their undoubted right, and hire them at wages so low that their acceptance means the degrading of labor, those who see the opportunity to earn bread for themselves and families taken from them by the importation of such labor will be driven to desperation, they will fight to resist such importation, fight to resist the taking of bread out of their mouths. And how can we blame them with any heart for fighting for the right to labor and to live? We cannot blame them any more than does the Governor of Illinois. We must blame those who enjoy the monopoly of coal fields, who use it to oppress labor, who refuse to make fair distribution of the fruits of labor as profits and wages for the strife and bloodshed that may result.

True the strikers who use force to prevent other miners from taking their places do wrong, for in so doing they deny the right of those others to work, a right as sacred with those others as it is with them. But that men striking for their rights, striking for a just distribution of the fruits of their toil, and a distribution that would be freely accorded to them under conditions of free competition, should use force to prevent other men from taking their places and defeating their efforts to attain their just dues is

not to be wondered at. With an industrial system that leads to such tragedies as that of Virden something is radically wrong. If the competitive system leads to this, and it is the competitive system that we rely upon to secure to the coal miner his rights, we must stamp such system a failure. But the rules of competition are not operative between the coal operator and the miner in a way to secure a just distribution, as profits and wages, of the proceeds realized by the operator from the sale of the coal. They are not, for they are only operative on the side of the miner and to the advantage of the operator in whose case the rules of monopoly supplant the rules of competition.

It is then not the competitive system that we must condemn because the coal miner fails to get his rights. It is not the competitive system that we must do away with to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as that of Virden, for it is the power conferred by monopoly, placed beyond the reach of competition, and the abuse of such power to oppress labor that is at the bottom of such tragedies. And as we cannot do away with monopoly of the coal fields, as such coal fields, vast in extent as they are, are not illimitable, as such monopoly is abused in private hands, there is but one remedy. And that is do away with private monopoly, to take the power conferred by monopoly and abused in private hands and vest it in the state.

All monopolies do not come into this same category for some monopolies are natural, some artificial. And when they are artificial, built on freight discriminations and special privileges, as most of our industrial trusts, they can be destroyed by the destruction of the causes that give them birth. But where monopolies are built upon natural restrictions, such as the limitation of the coal fields and where all the possible sources of production may be controlled by a favored few, such monopolies cannot be destroyed, for the destruction of the causes upon which they rest is impossible. And when such monopolies are abused the people have but one resort, one way to protect themselves, and that is to take over such monopolies that they may be worked for the profit of the whole people, not of the few.

It is to this that such sad happenings as that of Virden irresistibly direct us. Either the coal operators must cease to abuse their monopoly or lose their monopoly. This is the lesson, not the only lesson, but the lesson of the Virden tragedy.

#### MEXICAN SIDELIGHTS ON THE SILVER QUESTION.

**I**N JULY a year ago, when the slim hopes of effecting an early re-establishment of bimetallism through international agreement collapsed, the gold price of silver tumbled downwards in the course of a few weeks by twelve per cent. or more. The gold quotation for the Mexican dollar fell from 48 cents to as low as 42 cents, and inversely the exchange on gold-using Europe and America rose in Mexico from a premium of 108 per cent. up to 140 per cent. In other words, the Mexican remitting to Europe found he had to give a premium of 140 per cent. where before he had given 108 per cent., or give for a draft on New York for \$100 in gold \$240 in Mexican silver where before he had given \$208.

Of course, the Mexican Government and railroads having a foreign gold indebtedness and interest to pay thereon in gold found their interest burdens much increased. Yet it is a fact that the revenues of both government and railroads so increased that this increase in interest burdens caused no inconvenience. And this in face of the fact that importations into Mexico and revenues derived from tariff duties greatly fell off.

That importations should have fallen off is in no way surprising for the fall in silver and rise in exchange on gold using countries caused a rise in the price of everything imported from

such countries, so hindering consumption of such goods while greatly encouraging Mexican manufactures. The result was as if a higher protective tariff had been imposed. The internal development of Mexico was followed by an increase in the internal revenues and so it was that the government met its increased interest payments without trouble and in spite of the falling off of customs revenues.

It is obvious that the raising of exchange on gold using countries from 208 to 240 was equivalent to the Mexican importer to an advance in the cost of imported goods of 15 per cent. for he found that simply because of the rise of exchange he had to provide \$240 to meet a bill for \$100 in New York against \$208, Mexican, for a similar bill a few weeks before. Of course he advanced the price of imported goods in Mexico and though silver has since recovered about one half of its sharp fall following the virtual repudiation of the Wolcott commission by the President in calling upon Congress for authority, never granted, to appoint a commission charged to formulate a plan for remodelling our currency upon the gold basis, and consequent collapse of the negotiations of that commission, and though the premium on gold and exchange has fallen inversely to about 222 or 3 the unsettlement of exchange and the element of uncertainty and risk brought into importing business has served to cause importers to be cautious in their purchases and to keep up prices so as to secure to themselves a large margin of profit to cover possible losses from fluctuations in exchange. So have importations been curtailed which the profits of manufacturing in Mexico have been increased by the enhanced prices. Of course expansion in manufacturing industry has followed. And on the other hand exportations from Mexico have been stimulated for, as exchange has risen, produce, though sold abroad for the same gold price, has yielded more to the Mexican producer.

The natural thought of those who first read such statements is that the increase in the sum realized from the sale of Mexican products is more fictitious than real, and so also is it suggested that the rise in price for manufactured goods, consequent on the rise in exchange and increased cost of such goods when imported, has been of merely apparent advantage to the Mexican manufacturers. But the advantage has been very real, for the costs of production in Mexican silver have not increased in anything like proportion to the rise in the cost of imported goods. This is for the reason that interest payments and rents payable in Mexico and contracted in terms of silver have in no way changed with the depreciation of that metal as measured in gold. And then raw materials have not materially changed in price while wages have not appreciably changed. So it is that the costs of production paid in silver have changed but little, while the prices at which the Mexican manufacturers meet foreign competition have been materially raised.

What is more the wage earner is better off than ever before, a statement that seems quite absurd and contradictory on top of the assertion that wages have not risen appreciably while prices of all products brought from abroad have been raised considerably. The fact is that the Mexican laborer buys slightly of imported goods and hence is little affected by the rise in price. He lives largely on goods of domestic production and such goods have not risen to any appreciable extent in price.

So it is that the manufacturer has been able to produce at no greater cost, indeed, even at a smaller cost, because as he has increased production he has been able to economize labor and increase the productiveness of labor. So it is that the native manufacturer has been able to push foreign goods out of the Mexican markets. And just what Mexico has experienced during the last year she has experienced to a lesser degree in preceding years when the premium on gold was smaller, but rising with great constancy, thus lending a progressive stimulus to Mexican industry and attracting foreign capital to Mexico in spite of the fall in silver.

On this general development and the effects of the fall in silver, M. Georges Bourgarel, writing in *L'Economiste Europeen*, comments after this manner : "Mexico finds in the fall of this metal a great protection for her commerce and her industry, and at the same time an encouragement for foreign investments which aid in the development of her natural resources. Though this fall in silver and consequent rise in the price of exchange considerably embarrasses the importers of foreign produce it greatly favors, on the other hand, the domestic industry. \* \* \* In reality the premium on gold has acted as a protective wall to the national industry against foreign competition and as an energetic stimulus to exports."

The great development of the textile industries in Mexico, not only cotton but woolen and linen, and the growing independence of the country is illustrated by the marked falling off in imports of such goods relatively to importations in general. In the years 1870-75 the textile importations made up from 47 to 48 per cent. of the aggregate value of imports, during the last five years only 17 per cent. Yet during this period the condition of the population has vastly improved and their consumption of textile fabrics greatly increased.

We have already remarked upon the effect of the fall in silver and rise in gold exchange during the year 1897 on the commerce of the country. We have pointed out how that rise in exchange increased the cost of everything bought from America and Europe, increased the sums realized on everything sold abroad, even though the gold prices received remained unchanged. Of course, the rule that applies to 1897 applies to previous years, and naturally a rise in silver and fall in exchange, reducing the cost of imported articles has just the reverse effect. This do we find strikingly illustrated if we compare the trade returns of the last four years, together with the movements in silver. We give the returns in francs. [1 franc = 19.3 cents.]

Year.	Average price		Excess of exports	
	of silver Cents.	Imports Francs.	Exports Francs.	Francs.
1894 . . . . .	68.117	151,094,750	219,159,575	68,064,825
1895 . . . . .	63.798	181,225,225	282,459,950	101,234,725
1896 . . . . .	68.005	234,888,675	293,674,975	58,786,300
1897 . . . . .	64.807	196,028,575	321,889,750	125,861,175

Thus do we see that as silver fell and the premium on gold exchange rose the favorable balance of trade rose, that as silver rose and that premium fell, the premium that discourages imports and encourages exports, so did the balance of trade fall. We also note a progressive increase in exports, but the rapid expansion is in the years of falling silver and rising exchange. Thus in 1895 the premium on exchange as compared to 1894 rose and exports increased by 63,000,000 francs, in the next year gold exchange fell and exports increased by only 11,000,000 francs, in 1897 exchange rose again and the value of exports expanded by over 28,000,000. And if we look at imports we find that the most marked growth is recorded for 1896, a year in which silver ruled high as compared to 1895, the premium on exchange comparatively low and the cost of imported goods small. In 1897, a year when a rise in exchange was recorded and as a consequence the cost of everything brought from abroad was much increased, imports fell off most markedly. It is indeed true that imports in 1895 were considerably larger than in 1894, and despite a rise in exchange tending to increase the cost of things bought abroad and encourage the development of domestic industry. But this very development stimulated imports of machinery. Thus it was that the very discouragement to imports in the raising of the costs of imported articles, encouraged imports, but imports of a kind to free Mexico from industrial dependence in future years.

In passing we would also remark that the interest on the Mexican foreign debt, national and railroad, and payable in gold

amounts to about 36,000,000 francs a year, and that the silver equivalent of this charge of course rises as silver falls and *vice versa*. But it is with their products, with their excess of exports over imports, that nations pay such interest charges. And so it appears that owing to the stimulus given to domestic industry and to exports by low silver and high exchange the foreign debt charges were most easily provided for in the years when silver was lowest and the burden of the charges nominally greatest.

We will have more to say of these interest payments and the ability of Mexico to discharge them in a moment, but first we direct attention to a matter of much significance to our cotton planters. A few years ago Mexico was almost entirely dependent on our cotton fields, either importing fabrics made of our cotton or importing the raw cotton and fabricating it at home. So whether imported or not the cotton goods Mexicans used were largely made of our cotton. But now this is rapidly changing for she is ceasing to import cotton goods and she is rapidly getting into shape to raise the cotton to supply her own mills and so secure her complete independence of the rest of the world in the cotton trade. Thus do we learn that the consumption of raw cotton in the Mexican mills was about 490,000 cwt., in 1897, representing an increase of 16,000 to 17,000 cwt. over the preceding year. Yet the importations of raw cotton fell off from 257,000 cwt. in 1896 to 160,000 cwt. in 1897. This falling off is simply the consequence of the rapid extension of cotton culture in Mexico.

When silver tumbled in gold price in 1893 after the closing of the Indian mints the universal opinion in the gold using world was that the fall would be necessarily disastrous to Mexico. This opinion, however, was not shared in by the majority of Mexicans, it was not shared by the British Consul to Mexico, Mr. Cardin, who declared it to be unwarranted. Dispassionately discussing the probable effects of the fall in silver upon the different interests of the country he prophesied that though some of the interests would suffer, others and perhaps the most important, would be greatly benefitted, and in conclusion expressed the opinion that the general effect would be advantageous. Now after five years Mr. Cardin sums up the experiences of Mexico and shows that the effects upon Mexico of the fall of silver are just such as he anticipated, that the facts conform to his theory. He sets out that the appreciation of gold by more than 100 per cent. and one-half of which has taken place since 1893, has naturally obliged the government to greatly increase its payments of silver dollars to meet the charges on its foreign debt, payable in gold, and amounting to about £1,305,000 sterling annually. But he goes on to show that the general revenues of the country have increased at a more rapid rate, so rapid as to more than cover the loss suffered through the increase in interest payments consequent on the fall of silver. Thus we find that the Federal revenues have been as follows:

Fiscal years.	Dollars, Mexican.
1892-93 . . . . .	37,693,293
1893-94 . . . . .	40,211,747
1894-95 . . . . .	43,945,699
1895-96 . . . . .	50,521,470
1896-97 . . . . .	51,500,629

As stated, the interest charges are at this time about £1,305,000, or approximately \$6,342,000. Assuming that they were the same in 1893, we discover, the value of the Mexican dollar in the fiscal year 1893 being about 67½ cents gold, that the charge on the Mexican revenues was about 9,400,000 dollars Mexican; leaving about \$28,000,000 Mexican, available for other purposes. In the year 1896-97 the Mexican dollar was worth but 52 cents and so the interest charges must have absorbed about 12,200,000 dollars Mexican, leaving a balance of 39,000,000. Thus we see the revenues increased by over fourteen millions, the interest charges, because of the fall in silver, less than four, that

Mexico's ability to pay those charges has grown with what we call a fall in silver, what Mexicans call a rise in gold. And here it is just as well to remark that it is not the fall in silver but the comparative stability of silver that has conferred great advantages upon her people as compared to the gold using peoples who have been cursed by an unstable and dishonest standard that has worked the inequitable distribution of the wealth produced and discouraged enterprise by depriving producers of the fruits of their toil.

Mr. Cardin goes on to say that the commerce of Mexico has not suffered for the purchasing power of the country, thanks to the stimulus given to exports by the cheapness of silver and, as a consequence, of labor, has been greatly augmented. Moreover, the fall in the Mexican dollar has had the effect of considerably reducing the taxes, the customs duties and the charges, payable in silver, upon the goods imported into Mexico and adding to their original gold value. But though tariff duties have thus been reduced, the increased cost of making purchases abroad over a few years ago and consequent on the increased premium on the bill of exchange that must be sent in payment, have so added to the costs of imported goods that Mexican producers have enjoyed higher protection than ever.

The railroads without doubt felt at once the consequences of the appreciation of gold in Mexican money, for this appreciation not only affected the payments they had to make to meet the interest on their gold indebtedness, but also their purchases of material from abroad. But the marvellous increase in traffic receipts, of which a part, says the consul, are justly attributable to the fall in silver which has encouraged enterprise of all kinds, has compensated them and more for their losses. Thus have the receipts of the Mexican Central grown from 6,337,225 dollars (Mexican) in 1889, 7,963,254 in 1892 and 7,981,768 in 1893, to 9,495,866 dollars in 1895 and 12,845,819 in 1897. And the receipts of the Mexican National show similar increases; from 3,660,124 dollars (Mexican) in 1889 to 4,224,804 in 1893, 4,513,206 in 1895 and 6,080,663 in 1897. These two roads represent almost exactly one-half of the railroad mileage of Mexico, and the above figures show that their receipts grew during the five years prior to 1893 by less than 25 per cent., in the five years following by more than 50 per cent.

Mr. Cardin adds that the manufacturing industry is in a most flourishing condition; that despite the fall in silver the value of the exports of metals has not been seriously impaired, that the impulse given to agriculture by the rise in the premium on gold, which has been unaccompanied by any appreciable increase in the costs of production, has already had considerable results, which must be greatly accentuated as soon as the plantations of coffee and indiarubber, commenced in 1894, as the direct result of the fall in silver and the encouragement given by the premium on gold, begin to bear fruits.

In the words of the French economist already quoted, Georges Bourgarel: "Who can deny, after the presentation of such facts, that the depreciation of silver—while injuriously affecting, for the moment, certain interests—has rendered an immense service to Mexico, in giving to her industry a powerful impulse and in stimulating her to develop numerous sources of wealth unexploited up to this time?"

Thus do we learn that it is the stable standard that is of most inestimable advantage to a nation, for the Mexican standard is depreciated only in gold, not in purchasing power; that it is the stable standard, insuring to men the profits of their industry, that gives powerful impulse to enterprise, that stimulates to the utmost degree the development of a nation's resources and wealth.

APPROVE not of him who commands all you say.—Poor Richard's Almanac.

## A WORD TO MR. RAYNOLDS.

JUST one word in regard to the taking of the referendum vote as to the acceptability of the candidates nominated by the Cincinnati convention to the rank and file of the party and as ordered taken by that convention. Mr. Raynolds, of the Chicago *Express*, who has had many ill-considered and unkindly things to say of those who took part in the final action of that convention, seems to labor under the impression that the duty of taking this vote devolves upon him as one of the members of the referendum committee appointed by the St. Louis conference of last January to determine the preference of the rank and file of the party as to date for holding the national nominating convention of the Peoples party. This preference determined, the said committee ended with its work.

On motion of Captain Burkitt, the Cincinnati convention referred its work in the selection of candidates to the rank and file of the party and ordered a referendum vote taken that the individual members of the party might be accorded their right to a direct voice in the choice of their party candidates. Of this Mr. Raynolds says that "when Brother Burkitt, of Mississippi, offered his resolution, which was adopted by the last fragment of the convention, he (Burkitt) tried to make provision for a new committee, but was told by the chairman something to the effect that that was already provided for. This leaves but one course open. The standing referendum committee appointed at St. Louis is in duty bound to proceed with the referendum vote."

The facts are that when Captain Burkitt offered his referendum resolution he appended a resolution for the appointment of a committee of five to direct the taking of the vote. Dr. Fay, of Minnesota, suggested that such resolution was unnecessary, as the plan of organization already adopted by the convention provided rules for the taking of referendum votes. Thereupon Chairman Donnelly added that rules for the taking of the referendum vote just ordered by the convention were provided for under the plan of organization and Captain Burkitt amended his resolution so as to read "that the referendum vote . . . shall be taken in accordance with the plan provided in the report of the Committee on Plan of Organization made to this convention." Section 6 of the plan of organization reads that "National, state, congressional and county committees shall perform the same duties as heretofore, not inconsistent herewith, provide blank ballots for the referendum votes herein contemplated, and canvas and certify the votes cast in their respective territories."

Mr. Raynolds is, then, laboring under a misapprehension. There is nothing obscure or involved as to the intent of the Cincinnati convention, and there is no ground to question the intent of the convention on this point, for it explicitly declared itself.

Under the rules adopted by the Cincinnati convention the referendum vote will be taken by the county, congressional and state committees under the general direction of the National Committee, Milton Park, Chairman.

## PEOPLES PARTY NOTES.

**TEXAN** Populists are inviting fusion with the Republicans on the local tickets. We fancy they will live to rue the day. It was steering an independent course that the **Some Remarks** Peoples party of Texas grew to greatness, it was on Fusion. pursuit of such course that promised success. Dropping this straightforward course and building upon the fusion policy will, we fear, be the undoing of the Peoples party in Texas as it has in the nation. The comment of Paul Dixon of the *Missouri World* upon this changed attitude of Texas Populists should be weighed by true Populists everywhere. It is terse and sound and Populists should keep it before their eyes for their guidance if they would save their party. This is Mr. Dixon's comment :

"Fusion is wrong, whether it be with the Republicans in Texas or the

Democrats in Kansas. If the Republican party is good enough to fuse with it is good enough to join and the same may be said as to the Democratic party. There is no place for the Peoples party if the old parties are good enough to fuse with.

"The old parties—the bulwarks of plutocracy—cannot be overthrown by propping up one of them in Texas and the other in Kansas. The way for Populists to win is to strike at both the old parties straight from the shoulder. The people are ready to join us in such a contest. Why will Populists continue to push them off? The Cincinnati convention was held none too early, for it erected a political structure the very corner-stone of which is a straight fight. Around the banner there raised will gather the hosts of reform because they will know that that banner is to be led against, not entwined with that of the enemy."

MR. R. M. TANKESLEY, of Chattanooga, Tenn., writes us the following :—On October 8th our Congressional Convention

met and nominated Hon. W. A. K. Wittmore, of Riceville, Tenn., for Congress.

**Encouraging Word From Tennessee.** Among other things our convention endorsed the platform adopted at Cincinnati, September 6th, and the candidates for President and Vice-President selected at that time.

"We now have a full Legislative and Congressional ticket in the field.

"The true Populists of our county and district are more determined than ever, although our fusion friends are falling away from us one by one, but I honestly believe we gain by their loss.

"I think the action of the Cincinnati convention will save our party and I can now see that Populists in our state are inspired with new vigor and by next Presidential election we will be felt more than ever before."

MR. GUGGENHEIM, nominated by the mid-road Populists of Colorado for Governor, has withdrawn from the contest.

"BARKER and Donnelly are two splendid men and we hope they will be nominated by the regularly called Peoples party convention, in 1900, but if they are not, and the convention is fairly called and conducted, and puts up two good straight Populists for President and Vice-President, this deponent will support the regular nominees of the party. But if there is any shenanigan about the basis of representation or the convention, then Barker and Donnelly are our men. See?"—*Morgan's Buzz Saw*.

## SOME OF THE NEW BOOKS.

THE CENTURY COMPANY publish Dr. Weir Mitchell's novel "The Adventures of Francois." The scene is France during the Revolution and the hero, a foundling, thief, juggler, and fencing-master, recalls the picaresque romances of Spain. R. T. Hills' "Cuba and Porto Rico" gives a scientific description of the West Indian Islands. Prof. Woolsey discourses learnedly on "America's Foreign Policy," in a work which will be an authority on questions such as the Nicaragua Canal, Monroe Doctrine, Hawaiian problem, and the Fisheries trouble.

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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS publish "The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A.," by Washington Irving, in the Pawnee edition. "The Romance of the House of Savoy, 1003-1519," by Alethea Wiel, in two volumes, with illustrations reproduced chiefly from contemporary sources; "Petrarch, the first modern scholar and man of letters, a selection from his correspondence with Boccaccio and other friends, designed to illustrate the beginning of the Renaissance," translated from the original Latin, together with historical introductions and notes, by Prof. James Harvey Robinson, of Columbia University, with the collaboration of Prof. Henry Winchester Rolfe.

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HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. publish the Cambridge edition of Tennyson's poetical works; "The Boys of Old Monmouth," a story of Washington's campaign in New Jersey in 1778, by Everett T. Tomlinson; "In the Brave Days of Old," a story of adventure in the time of King James I., by Ruth Hall; "A History of the Presidency," by Dr. Edward Stanwood, and "John Adams, the Statesman of the American Revolution," and other essays and addresses, historical and literary, by Mellen Chamberlain.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

## The Romance of a Sham Imperialism.

*Life of Napoleon the Third.* By ARCHIBALD FORBES. With Illustrations. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

When the author returned from his service as newspaper correspondent during the Franco-German war, a service which brought him fame, he was induced to lecture about it. His habit was to plunge right into the subject without any introductory remarks, and he ended just as abruptly. This method is followed in the handsome book before us, which begins without an introduction and closes without an index. The former, though serviceable, may be dispensed with, but no biographical and historical work such as this should be issued without its life-giving index. How important the omission is may be seen by a glance at the rather bald table of contents. The emperor's life was extraordinarily kaleidoscopic, he went through adventures that would seem fanciful in a novel and participated in the stormiest convulsions of the mid-century. He was an exile in early life, a conspirator, a prisoner, President of a republic, again a conspirator—this time against the republic; a monarch by brute force, a principal in the war against Russia, the deliverer of Italy from Austria, the author of the tragic blunder in Mexico, the beautifier and beguiler of Paris, the conscienceless intriguer who set Austria and Prussia by the ears, and brought about the humiliation of his country and the downfall of his dynasty. The place of this man in history can scarcely be said to be indicated, much less fixed, by this straightforward yet friendly story of his career, but it must be taken as the most readable and manly presentation of the emperor's case from the standpoint of a sympathetic and soldierly English newspaper correspondent, who writes largely from personal knowledge of the more important scenes and actors he describes, and as such is a valuable contribution to the complete historical study of Napoleon III., which has yet to come.

The circumstances of Louis Napoleon's birth bespeak leniency in pronouncing a verdict on his career. Mentally and physically he carried inherited taints, or weaknesses, which have to be allowed for in any fair estimate. In giving such prominence to the characters of the King of Holland and Hortense, and to the doubts thrown upon the legitimacy of this son, Mr. Forbes opens the way for various speculations which lead to no certainty, except that the future emperor lacked by nature almost every strong characteristic of his great uncle. It was the Man who gave its glory to the first Napoleon name; it was only the name that gave power to the third wearer of it. One common quality they both had, and in its use Louis showed his nearest approach to genius, this was craftiness, the gift bestowed on the weak as compensation for strong powers denied. The first Buonaparte possessed this in excess of his other endowments, but it was almost the sole dominant characteristic of the other.

Louis was from the first compassed round by conditions favoring the development of this miserable quality, which, perhaps of necessity, he wrought into an art and science. "He was a fugitive before he could speak articulately. Between his twentieth and fortieth years he was a prisoner in Strasburg, Lorient, Ham and the Conciergerie. He was an outlaw for more than half of his life. There were incidents at Strasburg and Boulogne, which brought upon him the mock and jeer of Europe. He carried a baton as special constable in London on Chartist's day. Then by a sudden turn of fortune he became President of the French Republic. The *Coup d'Etat* made him Emperor of the French, and thenceforth for some fifteen years he was perhaps the most considered man of Europe." Thus Mr. Forbes, and it is all right enough read as he exhibits it, but it invites another reading, as seen in a mirror. Louis Napoleon was "the most considered," i. e. was considered the most suspiciously, because he made the *Coup d'Etat*. Not he, but his name had won the Presidency; the policeman's club he wielded against the unselfish champions of the people's rights—rights not long afterwards accorded by law—was the symbol of the imperial despot's life-long war on freedom of speech; and the ridiculousness of his theatrical fiascoes demonstrated his utter incapacity to play the part of hero, either in peace, in power, or in disaster. Due allowance must be made because he was a Frenchman, performing in a French melodrama before a French audience. They rose to the occasion at each successive tableau, rewarding the flourishes of the Napoleonic legend with the crowning applause of majority votes.

When Citizen Louis Napoleon assumed the modest office of President of the Republic it was understood, says Mr. Forbes, that the Constitution permitted no such ornamental extravagance as a Court. It fixed his salary at \$120,000, with free lodging. Very soon he managed to have his salary doubled, besides an allowance of \$30,000 for "expenses of display" and public charities. Then he paid court to the army by feasting 20,000 soldiers on roast chicken and champagne one week and giving the same treat to 30,000 more the week after. By February, 1851 (he had been elected President in December, 1848, for four years), he made further demands on the public money, and announced that he desired his "annual income should be fixed at 3,425,000 francs" (about \$700,000). He had formed and dismissed six or seven more or less docile ministries in his three years of office, comprising eighty or ninety leading men, but at last his astounding demand was met by an emphatic refusal. The Assembly refused to revise the Constitution as he wished, thereupon arose confusion, conspiracies to assassinate, arrests, and on December 2, of that year, 1851, the well-planned merciless stroke that crushed republic, republicans and republican sentiment in one swift blow. The Assembly is dissolved, the nation, terrorized and dazzled, accepts the artful bait of universal suffrage, and while in the hypnotic state, casts a seven millions majority vote making its master President for a ten years' term. Before the year ends the President is Emperor, the true friends of the republic in exile or prison, the seven millions delirious with joy and their tyrant drapes himself in their voting papers as in the spotless robe of the redeemed. The *Coup d'Etat* cost 600 killed and wounded in Paris, according to an official estimate, but this takes no account of the atrocities perpetrated in the provinces.

The best side of this adventurer is seen in his conduct as Emperor. Once safe in place, with unlimited means, both in money and mercenaries, it was no very perilous game to play at tickling a pleasure-loving people. By every art and sophistry Louis Napoleon set himself to win the trust and esteem of the nation, which he knew was Paris. And it would be a gross injustice to his memory to withhold the tribute of truth in this particular. He not only rebuilt the capital and set all the wheels of industry spinning, but he was animated by a sincere desire to improve the condition of the people in every respect but that of political liberty. A survey of the reigns of the thirty or forty ministries since Louis Napoleon's downfall leaves his with undimmed lustre in this important practical exemplification of good government. One peculiarly striking illustration of the craftiness alluded to is found in the new Emperor's address from the throne to his complacent subjects announcing his forthcoming marriage. He had been scouring the capitals of Europe for a royal consort, and had experienced enough failures to amount to one great big snub. When he had come down to the Scotch-Spanish lady who survives as the ex-Empress, he shows a touch of humorous genius in discounting in advance the sneers of staler royalties in these words: "It is not by affecting an ancient descent or endeavoring to push into the families of kings that one claims recognition. It is rather by remembering one's origin, by preserving one's own character, and by assuming frankly towards Europe the position of a *parvenu*—a glorious title when one rises by the free suffrages of a great people." If his people had half the sense of humor that they have of wit they would have topped his imperial crown with the jester's cap for the first audacity and perhaps have smothered him with it for the last one.

Mr. Forbes narrates each of the great events in this career with vigor and clearness, though some are unduly shortened. He is at his best—and admirable it is—in telling the complicated story of the war of 1870 and its dramatic sequels. We know of no better brief narrative of the incidents that led up to Sedan. Everything necessary to an understanding of the political significance of these events, from the meddlings with Italy and Austria and the schemings of Bismarck down to the equally ludicrous and tragic collapse of the French military machine, is here put so simply that all can read it without skipping. A sorry picture it makes, this tale of incompetency, muddle and shallow brag on the part of overpaid and overrated statesmen, soldiers and staff officials. When the crash came, or while it was on the way, poor Napoleon, broken with disease and dread, must needs rush in and multiply the disasters he did not know how to check, and could not if he had known how. He interfered, in madness of terror, with his chief generals in their actual commands and gave tangled orders which incensed and disheartened his only friends. Ascribe this fatal imbecility as we may to undermined health, or to soldierly incapacity, or to the shock of calamity, perhaps the most potent cause was solicitude for the name he bore. All through his sixty odd years of strangest whirls of fortune this name had

been his charm, his star of the east. Now it seemed in peril of extinction. Defeat meant for him worse than death, the death of ambition and hope. That he courted death at Sedan is well proven. He showed nothing of heroism, but everything of the opposite, in all his acts during that tragedy, even in needless pacing to and fro where the shells were falling. His every act and word were calculated with intent to get back himself, or have his son put back, on the crumbled throne. To perish at the head of a forlorn hope might, perhaps would, have secured the son's hold, but this craven weakling was angling for a bullet that might gain him a contemptuous sympathy, or for the backing of his conquerors, to whom he would have paid any price if they would but stick him back on that throne and shelter him from the indignant assaults of his awakened people. We are told on respectable authority, that Napoleon submitted to the surgical operations which proved fatal more with a view to being able to re-enter Paris on horseback than from the desire to be rid of pain. It may have been that he really had moments of this ambition to die an Emperor, but we prefer to credit his wife with it, he acquiescing in his weak willingness to gratify her fatal vanity. She was the author of his war craze, and of other of his woes. His make of man, enfeebled by imperial heart-break and the weight of sixty-five years strain of duplicity and dread of ever impending doom, was not the sort to seriously resume the adventures of his early career. Body, mind, spirit, all were played out, as any eye could see in those last Chiselhurst days. The solicitors of the Empress issued a formal statement that the Emperor's estate amounted only to \$300,000 net. It was discovered that he died worth just upon five million dollars, and the Empress is rich in her own right. Mr. Forbes is constrained to speak frankly of his hero in the passage describing the Emperor's conduct in 1866, when trouble was brewing for the Powers. "As a matter of fact, it is difficult to particularize the dark, shifting and tortuous policy pursued by the Emperor during all this momentous time. . . . How did he proceed to attempt to preserve the balance of power? By setting Prussia and Austria at daggers drawn and by attempting to reap the profits of their quarrel. . . . It was true that Napoleon, like another Iago feigning horror at the brawl between Cassio and Roderigo, made a show of proposing they should submit their quarrel to a European Congress at Paris," etc. Iago is the word. In things great and small, from first to last, this Napoleon the Third was also Iago the Second. His happiest fortune was that he lacked the manly force to become a second edition of Napoleon the First. Several misprints have been overlooked, and two or three important extracts are spoiled by the omission of the final quotation marks.

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#### The Story of Our Fighting Men.

*The Fall of Santiago.* By THOMAS J. VIVIAN. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.50.

As a rule war books hurriedly made up have little value and strike the reader as being stale. This is an exception. In a general way we all fancy we know the story of the summer campaign pretty thoroughly. When it comes to the test this knowledge proves filmy and fragmentary. The compiler of this account brings qualifications for his task unusual in many respects. He has a clear head and an eye to business. He gathers up his materials and shapes them into a compact statement which seems to exclude nothing of interest, while it keeps the main points well to the front. This is the way the book opens, the chapter is entitled, *How Schley Chased Cervera's Fleet*. "At the time that the great sea hunt for Admiral Cervera's elusive fleet began, the condition of things specifically hinging on it was just this,"—then follows a lucid presentation of the conditions and tactics of the game. That word "hinging" may be admirable as an example of economy in spelling but it is wrong, and should be "hingeing," for it would be a cruel joke to say of a sufferer who is singeing that he is merely singing. The book is built up on the "how" plan, each chapter tells how this and that memorable deed was done. The Rough Riders at Guasima are pictured with a graphic skill that makes vivid scenes out of the dry facts without stretching them for effect. It makes capital reading, this thumbnail sketch of the raw material of the troop. Dead Shot Jim Simpson from Montana, Lariat Ned Perkins of Colorado, Rocky Mountain Bill Jenkins, Bronco George Brown of Arizona, Fighting Bob Wilson of Wyoming, these and their like, mixed up in campaign brotherhood with the sons of the Knickerbockers and Society's minor deities.

"And so with much dust and jingle of spurs, the plainsmen and mountaineers of the West came trooping into San Antonio; with valets,

bathtubs and dress-suit cases, the dudes, the brokers of the East rolled into town in parlor cars, with the outfit of the fop, the handbag of the hardy experienced man, and with no kits at all save the things on his back and the beast he strode, the Rough Riders gathered together. But when once together, every division of class and belonging was swept away. There was comradeship from the start, for each man was a U. S. trooper, sworn to serve his country and to fight for it at thirteen dollars a month, with rations and uniform. . . . Much of this hard work of camp life was given to the breaking and drilling of the horses. Yet by one of the ironical strokes of fate the first time the Rough Riders went into battle they went afoot."

The description of the fight itself, never losing sight of the details and by-features, is graphic, lucid, and not spun out. Less dramatic than the fighting scenes, but as good in their way, are the occasional glimpses of the minor dangers and discomforts our men had to endure. The heat and rains surprised them all.

"Before the storm came the sultry air grew still sultrier. From the trampled, beaten, crushed, tropical undergrowth rose sickening odors and heavy miasmatic mists. Every life-giving quality of the air seemed to be squeezed out of it and even the myriad insects and crawling reptiles were quieted. Then, just as the sizzling heat reached a spot where it apparently could go no further and be bearable, a zigzag flash, a thunderclap, and a cataract of ice-cold rain came simultaneously, and every man was soaked and shivering. If they were marching, they found themselves suddenly wading through swift-running streams of cold, muddy water, with what they had on changed from its reek of perspiration into cold, wet, clinging garments. For two or three hours the icy water fell, until all the hillsides were moving with a floating mass of mud and leaves, and the muddy water in the trails had risen up to the legging-top. Then, as suddenly as it had begun, the storm would come to an end, the sun come out hotter than ever, the wet ground steamed; horrible crawling, flying things filled the muggy air, and from shivering the men passed to gasping."

Even these plagues were less objectionable than the repulsive looking land crabs, "squads, regiments and battalions of them, until the men were sickened at the sight." These crabs measured four to twelve inches across the back, not including the reach of their powerful legs and nippers. They move in platoons and their sound on the march was constantly mistaken by pickets for an onslaught of the enemy. These minor woes of our soldiers should not be forgotten when we think of all they braved in that lamentable midsummer invasion. The book is well filled with half-tone plates from photos, and altogether makes a capital record of the Santiago sea and land campaigns.

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*Poor Richard's Almanack.* By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Edited by Benjamin E. Smith. New York: The Century Co. \$1.

A prettily made book, small and oblong, in old-fashioned yellow leather stamped with quaint calendar emblems. The contents, edited by Benjamin E. Smith, are various Prefaces to Franklin's almanacks, signed Richard Saunders, from 1733 to 1757; "The Way to Wealth," being the preface for 1758; the Proverbs and Apothegms; the Rimes; the Predictions; and, lastly, a reduced facsimile, on old style paper, of the Almanack for 1733, made from the copy in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It is not necessary to say that the typography of this little book is artistic in the highest degree, but this does not make up for the inexcusable liberty taken with the original, a liberty which all but destroys the chief charm of this reprint. This is stated—but is neither reasoned nor apologized for—in the editor's footnote, which says, "in the text the original spelling and punctuation and various other peculiarities of style have been preserved, but the original capitalization has not been reproduced." We italicize that word to gibbet it as the robber of the most precious feature of a reproduction which is not a reproduction, but only a tantalizing deformity in this respect. The old-time free use of capitals may be an eyesore to pedantic purists whose fad is to plane everything down to characterless dead level, as some of our latter-day dictionaries are bent on doing, but those flourishing crops of capitals were picturesque, artistic in the highest sense, yes, and they were useful, much more so than half of our latest crankeries in improved printing. But apart from opinions, a reproduction which gives us the old spelling and suppresses the old use of capitals is neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring. The editor has a footnote to the Preface of 1733, in which Franklin predicts the death, on a given early day, of his rival almanac-maker, Leeds. The device caused general

fun, and the man's protest was a fine advertisement for Franklin. The footnote might have explained that in this Franklin simply imitated Dean Swift's famous freak with Partridge the astrologer, some thirty years earlier. The note does state that "the pseudonym Richard Saunders was borrowed from the English astrologer and almanac maker of that name, and an English comic almanac, "Poor Robin," furnished the suggestion of "Poor Richard." The fac simile almanac is most interesting, because, being photographic, the offending capitals and long s's have had to be left in. The literary merits of Franklin's rhymed pieces and proverbs are nothing as compared with his Autobiography, being almost all borrowings and imitations, while the latter is his own and a fine piece of work in all respects.

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*The Business Girl in Every Phase of Her Life.* By RUTH ASHMORE. *Home Games and Parties.* Edited by MRS. HAMILTON MOTT. New York: Doubleday and McClure Co. each 50 cents.

These dainty little volumes are reprints from the *Ladies' Home Journal*. The first consists of a series of sound, sensible, motherly talks with young women who earn their living in cities, just the kind of sermonizing everyone would wish every girl to read, mark, learn and inwardly digest, and with as little of the objectionable preachiness as can be expected. The title of the second book needs no explanation, the games are of the simple yet mildly exciting sort most enjoyed in the home circle, out of which the unsuspecting novice may get no end of literary, historical and geographical lore, in spite of possible distaste for it. The book covers are green showing through white lace.

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*Waiting for the Signal.* A novel. By HENRY O. MORRIS. Chicago: The Schulte Publishing Co.

"The Revolution of 1899, by Two Reporters," would be a more descriptive title. But such a title is just what the modern day novelist aims not to give. He does not want to give way the substance of the book and the plot of his brain upon the cover page. The ready reader who is too much given to guessing the plot pages in advance of its climax, must be kept in mystery as long as possible. Otherwise how can interest be sustained! And so the titles struck off are delightfully indefinite. That which is sought for is the indefiniteness and mysticism that excites the chords of curiosity, attracts buyers and so makes and unmakes the fortunes of publishers and booksellers. A happy title is often worth more in a bookselling way than that which is put between the covers.

Upon the cover of the present work is impressed a mystic symbol that would lead one to believe that we are about to be initiated into the mysteries of some secret society. And so indeed do we find. It seems a pity to detract from the interest of the reader by setting forth what he may expect, but as the first pages of the work serve to drop the curtain of mysticism, the author setting forth in a preface the scope and purpose of his work, we need plead no apology for breaking the rule to say that the corrupting and depraving effect of unearned riches and of poverty are rudely contrasted, that two reporter friends, representing a great Chicago daily, worm their way into New York society and tell us the story of Seely dinner and Bradley-Martin ball, pass on to Washington and paint the contrasts of the McKinley inaugural pageant. Into this is woven not a little politico-economic matter, a deal of good sense and not a little exaggeration that defeats its own purpose.

Truth and fiction are so promiscuously mixed in the earlier pages of the book that you scarce know when you are reading history and when you are not. It is almost aggravating at times to one who reads the pages in serious train of mind. However, as the pages turn, we pass out of the realms of history and into those of the soothsayer. We then are told of intolerable encroachments by the oligarchy of wealth upon the rights of man, of the organization of an immense secret society to resist, to fight this oligarchy through the ballot if possible, by force if necessary. The oligarchy by resort to force makes resistance by force necessary. To secure protection in its nefarious deeds this oligarchy succeeds in increasing the armed forces of the United States by ten fold, but the army is recruited from the ranks of the secret society. So it comes about that the oligarchy builds its own ruin, arms its own "destroyers." On a May morning in 1899 the army seizes the reins of government, but in the interest of the people not of the oligarchy. That oligarchy helpless, a peaceful revolution results, peaceful everywhere but in New York. There the plutocrats on the eve of the revolution arm the thugs for their defense, such hirelings tempted by plunder turn their arms upon their employers, loot, then burn the Sodom of the new world,

## Wanamaker's.

**Bunting** If there were no rains or fading sunbeams one might be excused for buying inferior decorative stuffs. But rains come—and decorations should be good enough to withstand them.

We guarantee colors to stay reasonably bright and not to "run" from wetting.

**COTTON BUNTING—**  
Solid colors—red, white or blue, 5c. a yard.  
Tri-color, with stars in blue, 6c. a yard.  
Tri-color, without stars, 6c. a yard.

**WOOL BUNTING—**  
All-wool, U. S. standard—used by army and navy departments, 20c. a yard  
36 in. all-wool Bunting—above U. S. standard.  
We bought a mill's over-production and offer it at 25c. a yard.

Cotton Flags, 15x27 in., 4c.  
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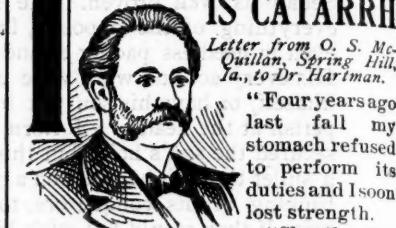


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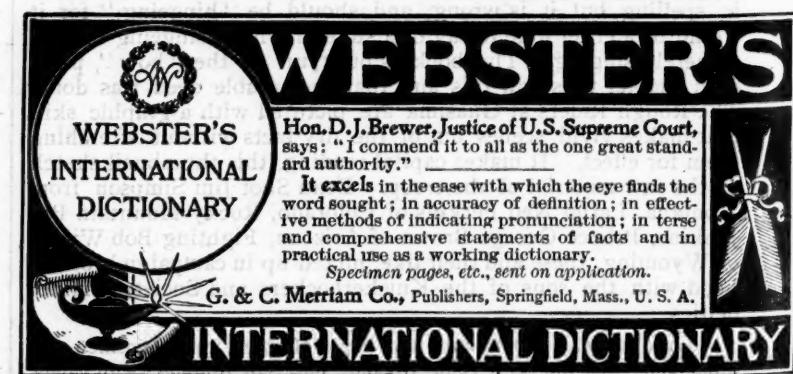
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the revolutionary army alone saving the plutocrats from absolute destruction at the hands of their own hirelings. Those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. Naturally there follows in sequence a remodelling of our government, the making of a new constitution not as liberal as we would expect, the inauguration of an era of plenty and contentment. Interwoven in all is a double love story.

We must add that as a soothsayer the author, who penned his last lines a few days prior to the blowing up of the Maine, already stands considerably discredited by passing events.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

**POOR RICHARD'S ALMANACK.** By Benjamin Franklin. Edited by Benjamin E. Smith. Pp. 248. New York: The Century Co. \$1.

**MANUAL OF THE HISTORY OF FRENCH LITERATURE.** By Ferdinand Brunetière. Translation by Ralph Derechef. Pp. 569. Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.

**BOB, SON OF BATTLE.** By Alfred Ollivant. Pp. 356. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.25.

**THE BUSINESS GIRL, IN EVERY PHASE OF HER LIFE.** By Ruth Ashmore. Pp. 177. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50 cents.

**HOME GAMES AND PARTIES.** Edited by Mrs. Hamilton Mott. Pp. 188. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50 cents.

**INSIDE OF ONE HUNDRED HOMES.** By William Martin Johnson. Pp. 140. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50 cents.

**MODEL HOUSES FOR LITTLE MONEY.** By William L. Price. Pp. 193. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50 cents.

**CYRANO DE BERGERAC.** Translated from the French by Gertrude Hall. Pp. 235. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 50 cents.

**SCIENCE OF THE MILLENNIUM.** By Stephen and Mary Maybell. Pp. 149. Channel and Ninth streets, San Francisco, Cal.: The Authors.

**THE PATRIOTS OF PALESTINE.** A Story of the Maccabees. By Charlotte M. Yonge. Pp. 263, with illustrations. New York: Thomas Whitaker. \$1.25.

#### TO OUR FRIENDS AND READERS:

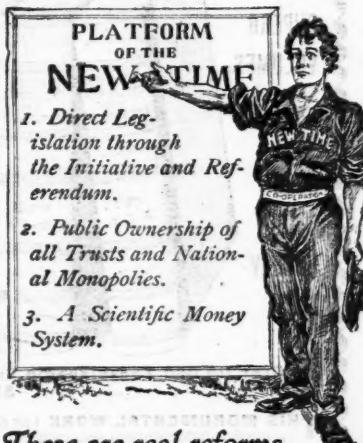
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That dare we also say."

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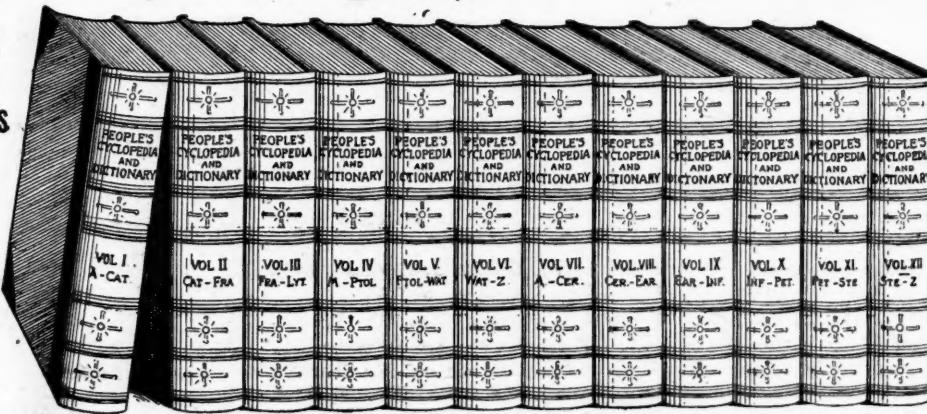
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